



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

have gained in the last three years, they will have to concern themselves chiefly with practical work. The method of teaching that seems to be taking form in this country is a more or less intensive inductive study of suitable texts. The method is scientific, interesting, and flexible. If our texts are provided with exercises like those used in these two texts, this method can be used as easily as the reading method, by any live teacher. The writer hopes that future editors will provide us with more advanced texts equipped as are these two.

E. S. INGRAHAM.

Ohio State University.

The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton, (1734-1771), including more than One Hundred Letters now first published, etc. By PAGET TOYNBEE. 2 vols. Oxford, At The Clarendon Press, 1915.

This interesting and beautiful book reflects great credit on both editor and publishers. Binding, paper, print, and illustrations (including portraits and facsimiles) could hardly be more attractive and fitting. There are in all three portraits of Gray, three of Walpole, and one of Ashton. Two of the portraits of Gray serve as frontispieces to the two volumes.

In the Preface the editor informs the reader that "of 248 letters contained in these volumes, 111 are now printed for the first time, namely, eighty-nine by Gray, five by Walpole, nine by West, and eight by Ashton; and twenty-one are now first printed in full, namely, fifteen by Gray, one by Walpole, one by West, and four by Ashton. Of the remaining 116, which have been reprinted from various sources, forty-nine were written by Gray, twenty-nine by Walpole, twenty-nine by West, and nine by Ashton; thus making a total of 153 letters by Gray, thirty-five by Walpole, thirty-nine by West, and twenty-one by Ashton.

The hitherto unpublished letters of Gray, Walpole, and West, it was my good fortune to find, in the course of my inquiries for Walpole letters, in the possession of the late Sir Francis E. Waller, Bart., of Woodcote, Warwick, who not only readily acceded to my request for permission to publish them, but further, with great generosity, placed at my disposal for a prolonged period, for the

purposes of this work, the whole of his valuable collection of Walpole correspondence and other papers preserved at Woodcote. This collection, it may be explained, came, as it were, by direct descent from Walpole himself to the late owner, having been bequeathed to the then head of the family, Sir Mathew Waller, by Walpole's executrix and residuary legatee."¹

The book is dedicated "To the memory of Captain Sir Francis Ernest Waller, Bart.," and a note at the close of the Preface definitely links the publication of the letters with the war that is now in progress.

The introduction (pp. xvii-xlv) is arranged in twelve sections or paragraphs, dealing with the following subjects in a concise and illuminating manner: The 'Quadruple Alliance'; Their Pseudonyms; Gray at Eton and Cambridge—His alleged early residence at Pembroke; Foreign Tour of Gray and Walpole; The Quarrel between Gray and Walpole—The Part Played by Ashton—Their Reconciliation; Gray in Residence at Cambridge—Publication of his Poems; The Newly Printed Letters of Gray—Walpole's Estimate of the Early Letters—Evidence of his Intention to Publish Them; Horace Walpole—Early Years; Walpole in Parliament—Inter-course with Gray—Strawberry Hill; The Strawberry Hill Press—Walpole's Literary Works—His Indebtedness to Gray—Visits to Paris—Death of Gray; Richard West; Thomas Ashton.

Toynbee has thrown interesting light upon many rather obscure points in the life of Gray. First of all, the new letters seem to establish beyond a doubt the identity of the pseudonyms of the members of the 'Quadruple Alliance.' As has long been known, Gray's name was 'Orosmades' (or 'Orozmaes') and West's 'Favonius' or 'Zephyrus.' But the names of Ashton and Walpole have hitherto remained matters of dispute. From several of the early letters of Gray to Walpole there can be no doubt that Walpole was known as 'Celadon' among his close friends at Eton, "presumably after the amorous shepherd of that name in D'Urfé's pastoral romance of *Astrée*, or perhaps after the swain so called in Thomson's *Summer*."² Since the publication of Tovey's *Gray and His Friends*³ "Ashton has usually been identified with 'Plato,'

¹ Pp. vii-viii.

² *Introd.*, p. xviii. But Gosse in *E. M. of L.*, pp. 11, says, "Tydeus is very clearly Walpole himself."

³ Cambridge, 1890.

but it is more probable that he was 'Almanzor,'—a character in Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*, in which Ashton probably acted while at Eton.⁴ Tovey says on this point⁵: "Ashton was dubbed 'Plato' by his Eton friends; why, I cannot tell, except in as far as he was supposed to have some skill in Greek." "The terms in which Walpole speaks of 'Plato,'" says Toynbee, "are hardly consistent with the intimate relations which are known to have subsisted between him and Ashton. Further, 'Plato' is only once mentioned by Gray (namely, in his letter to Walpole of 24 Dec., 1735), and that only incidentally, in consequence of a reference by West to Walpole's mention of him. 'Almanzor,' on the other hand, as appears from Gray's references to him, was intimate, as was Ashton, both with Walpole and with Gray. 'Almanzor' was at King's, as was Ashton; and was in residence before Walpole went up to Cambridge, as was Ashton. 'Almanzor,' again, is mentioned next after 'Orosmales' by West in his list, and the two are coupled together by Walpole as his two closest Eton friends at Cambridge, as Gray and Ashton undoubtedly were. All the available evidence, therefore, points to the identification of Ashton with 'Almanzor'."⁶

In still another point connected with Gray's early career Toynbee corrects the poet's biographers. "The persistent statement of recent biographers that Gray went for a time first to Pembroke, pending his admission to Peterhouse, has no evidence to support it. In the Peterhouse Admission Book, in which the record of Gray's admission is printed in full, no mention is made of any migration from Pembroke; he is described simply as from Eton. . . . Nor is there any record in the Pembroke Admission Book of his having been entered there, as alleged, in 1734 before his admission to Peterhouse. Gray's early letters to Walpole, dating from April, 1734, . . . are equally silent on the subject.

This legend as to Gray's early residence at Pembroke seems to have originated in a slip on the part of Mitford, the well-known editor of the works of Gray." Mitford, after repeating "almost

⁴ Toynbee, *Introd.*, p. xix, and footnote 6.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 2; also p. 80, footnote.

⁶ Toynbee, *Introd.*, pp. xix-xx. Northup says (*Essays and Criticisms by Thomas Gray*, Boston, Heath & Co., 1911, *Introd.*, p. xi): "Thomas Ashton was nicknamed 'Plato'." Gosse suggests (*op. cit.*) that "Almanzor is probably Ashton."

verbatim" a passage on Gray's educational advantages from Mason's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. Gray*, says in the succeeding paragraph of his *Life of Gray* (1816): "'When Gray removed to Peterhouse (*i. e.* from Eton) Horace Walpole went to King's College in the same University.' In the version of his *Life of Gray*, however, published twenty years later (in 1836) Mitford, apparently by an oversight, made a material alteration in this account. He there states that Gray 'was educated at Eton under the protection of Mr. Antrobus, his maternal uncle, who was at that time assistant to Dr. George, and also a Fellow of Pembroke College at Cambridge, where Gray was admitted as a pensioner in 1734.' Here we have the statement that Gray's uncle was a Fellow, not of Peterhouse (as he was in fact), but of Pembroke, and that Gray was admitted as a pensioner of the latter college. In view of this statement, the 'removal to Peterhouse' in the next sentence naturally acquires a wholly different significance, and implies a removal, not from Eton, as before, but from Pembroke, to Peterhouse."⁷

Toynbee has nothing really new to say about the now famous quarrel between Gray and Walpole, but he is inclined to accept the statement made by Walpole to Mason in a letter of March 2, 1773, at its full face value. "The reconciliation, which took place in November, 1745,⁸ seems to have been sincere and complete on Gray's, as well as on Walpole's part." And the large number of letters which Gray sent Walpole between 1746 and the close of his life would not seem to give the slightest ground for the assertion that the two friends "gradually drifted apart" in the closing years of Gray's life.⁹ Moreover, judging by the length and character of

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. xxi-xxii. Gosse says, *op. cit.*, p. 8: "In 1734 the 'Quadruple Alliance' broke up. Gray, and probably Ashton, proceeded to Cambridge, where the former was for a short time a pensioner of Pembroke Hall, but went over, on the 3rd of July, as a fellow-commoner to his uncle Antrobus's college Peterhouse." The same statement by Bradshaw (Aldine ed. of Gray's *Poems*, p. xxvii), Tovey (*Cambr. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vol. x, p. 131), Northup, (*op. cit.*, p. xii).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. xxviii, footnote 38. (ii); cf. letter of Gray to Wharton, Nov. 16, 1745, reprinted by Toynbee, *Introd.*, p. xxix.

⁹ Northup, *op. cit.*, *Introd.*, p. xxiii. With the new letters printed by Toynbee we have 31 letters (instead of "only six") from Gray to Walpole between 1759 and 1771, and 57 from 1746 to 1759.

many of these letters, the correspondence with Walpole must have been definitely stimulating to Gray. Certain letters were written in answer to questions that Walpole asked his friend about manuscripts and rare books which might contain valuable information for the former's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, and are full of the minutest antiquarian and historical details.¹⁰ But if Walpole merely wished information about some newly acquired picture or other work of art, history or antiquity, Gray replied with equal pains, good-will, and enthusiasm.¹¹ Between April 1734 and the beginning of 1739 Gray wrote in all 49 letters to Walpole, 24 of which fall in the two years (12 to each year) 1735 and 1736. And all but ten of these forty-nine are published for the first time in Toynbee's two volumes.

If any further evidence were needed to put to rest forever the once popular conception of Gray as an extremely moody and melancholy being from his youth, these early letters furnish that evidence in abundance.¹² They are for the most part bubbling over with life, good spirits, and genuine humor. Virtually all the letters of Gray's younger years, and a great many from the last years of his life suggest that the light, humorous vein has been entirely

¹⁰ See letter No. 215, Sept. 2, 1760, which fills almost 20 printed pages, Toynbee, II, 186-206.

¹¹ Cf. letters 185-186, Toynbee, II, 132-146, both of which are "now first printed from the originals in Waller Collection."

¹² Even the careful and impartial reading of Gray's later letters in Tovey's edition, does not leave the impression of undue melancholy. Cf. Gosse, *op. cit.*, p. 12 ff. Saintsbury is on the safest critical ground when he says (*The Peace of the Augustans*, London, 1916, p. 240): "That he had fits of melancholy is certain—it would have been strange if a man of his poetic temperament, of weak health, and leading, though entirely by his own choice, a quasi-monastic life, with absolutely no fixed duties or occupations had not had them. But that this melancholy was no *Weltschmerz*, no anticipated Jacopo-Ortism or Obermannishness, that it had little or nothing to do with any feeling that the time was out of joint or that he was out of joint with the time, the present writer has long been convinced. . . . In poetry he may be, and is, and will be here treated as one of the 'disturbers of the Happy Valley'; in prose he is nothing of the kind."

Again, he says (p. 247): "That Gray's melancholy appears in (or rather behind) the letters is perfectly true; but it has perhaps been exaggerated, even by those who have not fallen into the other and Arnoldian exaggeration of his being born out of due time. It is so difficult not to

too much neglected, just as the melancholy strain has been too much emphasized, by the poet's critics and biographers.¹³ Gray was by nature a humorist,—as genuine a humorist as Cowper, without the latter's gloomy melancholy. In the letters to his most intimate friends like Walpole, West, and Wharton Gray's wit and humor flow and flash constantly. It seems to have been impossible for him to repress this exuberance of spirits. And this thought suggests, perhaps, one reason,—possibly the main reason,—why Gray "never spoke out" in poetry.¹⁴ Letter-writing was easy for him, we must believe; was apparently his easiest, most natural medium for communicating his real self to his friends. Poetry was, it would seem, not easy for him; he is so frequently stiff, stilted, and labored in both thought and diction; so seldom indeed anything else, even in the most inspired passages of the great *Elegy*. It must therefore be remembered that he was one of the most voluminous, as well as one of the greatest, letter-writers of the eighteenth century;¹⁵ and whenever he felt the necessity of giving free expression to his thoughts and opinions he generally had recourse to the familiar letter rather than to poetry.

The small number of letters written by Walpole to Gray (only eleven) is in marked contrast to the one hundred and twenty-three

confuse the worker and the work that most people, no doubt, and even some of the elect sometimes, will have the subject, or hero, or whatever he is to be called, of the *Elegy* to be Gray himself. That they had something in common—and not a very little something—it would be folly to deny. . . . But there is a great deal in the *Elegy* man that was not in Gray, and there was a great deal more in Gray that is not in the *Elegy* man."

¹³ Cf. Tovey, *op. cit.*, *Pref.* to Vol. I, and *Introd. Essay to Gray and His Friends*.

¹⁴ On this point see especially Tovey, *Gray and His Friends, Introd. Essay*, p. 26 ff.; also *Letters of Thomas Gray*, I, *Preface*, vii ff.; Northup, *op. cit.*, *Introd.*, p. xxii ff. Saintsbury says (*op. cit.*, p. 237) of Arnold's famous "He never spoke out": "He wrote extremely little; he had a most unfortunate habit of leaving what he did write unfinished; and he was undoubtedly influenced, in the character of his work, by a singular conflict of traditions, tastes, and the like. . . . But, as careful and impartial readers of his letters know, he often 'speaks out' in them quite loud and clear. It would be rather interesting to be certain to what extent Mr. Arnold knew them."

¹⁵ The eighty-nine new letters of Toynbee's edition would add much to the actual bulk and real value of Tovey's three thick volumes.

of Gray to Walpole. To the other members of the Quadruple Alliance, Ashton and West, Walpole wrote three and twenty-one letters respectively. But West died in 1742 and the friendship between Ashton and Walpole was broken off about 1750. If one were to judge, then, of the warmth of his friendship for Gray by the number and character of the letters he wrote him, one would be forced to the conclusion that Walpole's interest in the poet was a matter of very secondary importance in his life. And this conclusion receives indirectly added confirmation from a consideration of the hundreds of letters written by Walpole to such really close friends as Sir Horace Mann and Hon. H. S. Conway, most of which fall in the years before Gray's death.¹⁶

A note written by Walpole, however, on the importance of Gray's letters, "four or five years after Gray's death, on a slip of paper preserved with the originals," might justify the inference that he destroyed and mutilated many of his own and possibly of Gray's youthful epistles: "These first letters from Mr. Gray to Mr. Walpole were written when they were both lads just removed from school to the University, where they and Mr. Ashton had assumed feigned names, and assigned others to their particular acquaintances, that they might correspond with greater freedom. This puerility, excusable at the ages of eighteen and of seventeen, would have been ridiculous at a riper age, and they soon laid it aside. Consequently when Mr. Walpole entrusted these letters to Mr. Mason that he might select such as were proper for publication, all those childish distinctions were struck out, and Mr. Mason made a very judicious selection for the Press. Mr. W. notwithstanding was so partial to those early blossoms of his friend's wit, genius and humour that he could not determine to destroy them—yet as they are too trifling for the public eye, he begs his executor to burn them after reading, or at least after having transcribed such as would be no reflection on the taste and good sense of the writer. H. W."¹⁷

The letters of these new volumes, as well as those formerly published, make it clear that Gray and Walpole stand a full head and

¹⁶ Five of the eleven letters of Walpole to Gray are printed for the first time by Toynbee. And how many Walpole destroyed of those that came back into his possession, we do not know.

¹⁷ Cf. Toynbee, *Introd.*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii, where a facsimile of the original note is given.

shoulders above Ashton and West as writers of entertaining letters. And Gray's best letters are considerably better than Walpole's best; but Gray could occasionally be very dry and tedious. Walpole was of course a consummate gossip in his letters, but his gossip is often spicy, witty, pleasing and entertaining. And then he knew and wrote about almost every interesting body and thing that lived, moved, and happened during the years of his long life. He could be a close and careful observer. He enjoyed and appreciated both nature and art. In his journey through France and Italy with Gray he also saw—was impressed by—the fine bits of scenery they passed, and commented on them with almost as much enthusiasm as Gray. Walpole in fact, as well as Gray, shows in some of his letters from this first Italian journey a genuine appreciation of grand mountain scenes.¹⁸

WM. H. HULME.

Western Reserve University.

A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight, by GEORGE LYMAN KITTREDGE. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1916. Pp. viii, 323.

The origin and pedigree of this fine old romance seem to be one of the most difficult problems in literary history, but Professor Kittredge's solution will commend itself to the majority of readers as the best yet offered. The study begins, as he says, "with *The Champion's Bargain*, an Irish tale in a carefully elaborated literary form, preserved in a manuscript of about the year 1100. We end with *Gawain and the Green Knight*, an English romance in a carefully elaborated literary form, preserved in a manuscript of about 1400. Those points in which the latter document differs from the former are changes—additions, subtractions, or modifications. The questions are, with regard to each of them: Who made the change—the Englishman or one of his predecessors? and, if one of his predecessors, which one?"

¹⁸ Cf. especially a letter to West, dated Aix, Sept. 30, 1739. *Letters of Horace Walpole*, ed. Cunningham, I, 27; cf. pp. 28 ff.; also Gray's letters to his mother, dated Lyons, Oct. 13, 1739, and to West, Turin, Nov. 16, 1739 in Tovey, I, 38 f. and 43 f. for his descriptions of same incidents.